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better than that body itself, by declining to send to it any arbitration treaties until he is assured that it is sufficiently interested in the subject to be willing to join with him heartily in making them. How long he will have to wait, it is impossible to forecast. The shorter the time, the better it will please the people and the more it will be to the honor of the Senate itself.

The Anglo-Spanish Arbitration Treaty.

The treaty of arbitration between Great Britain and Spain, which was reported to be under way when our March issue went to press, was signed on the 27th of February. It is in substantially the same terms as the Anglo-French treaty. Articles one and two, which contain the important features of the convention, are as follows:

"Article I. Differences which may arise of a legal nature, or relating to the interpretation of treaties existing between the two contracting parties, and which it may not have been possible to settle by diplomacy, shall be referred to the Permanent Court of Arbitration established at The Hague by the convention of July 29, 1899, provided, nevertheless, that they do not affect the vital interests, the independence or the honor of the two contracting states, and do not concern the interests of third parties.

"Art. II. In each individual case the high contracting parties, before appealing to the Permanent Court of Arbitration, shall conclude a special agreement defining clearly the matter in dispute, the scope of the powers of the arbitrators, and the periods to be fixed for the formation of the arbitral tribunal and the several stages of the procedure."

This is the sixth of the treaties of obligatory arbitration, with stipulated reference to the Hague Court, which have now been signed. England is a party to three of them. France has also signed three treaties, the last one being with Spain, signed on the 26th of February, and is in negotiation for a number of others, namely, with the United States, Holland, Denmark, Norway and Sweden, and the republics of South America.

This Anglo-Spanish treaty is like the former ones in reserving questions of vital interest and honor, and is thus inferior to the treaty between Holland and Denmark, which makes no limitation of the questions which are to go to the Hague Court. Why the question of independence should be put into a treaty of this kind, we have never been able to see. Arbitration presupposes and assumes independence on the part of the contracting parties, and it seems altogether superfluous to state it formally. Caution is a good thing, but over-caution is weakness.

This treaty gives ground for great satisfaction as it extends and strengthens the cordon of arbitration agreements, which have come into existence with surprising rapidity in recent months, and which give us

increasing assurance that in case of disputes between the contracting parties, all practicable pacific means will be exhausted before thought is entertained of going to war. The reservation of "vital interests" and "honor" will, we think, in practice prove to be no reservation at all. These nations have frequently submitted to arbitration questions involving both honor and vital interests, and it is not at all likely that they will do worse under treaty than they have done without treaty.

Editorial Notes.

The Peace Congress.

The date and place of the approaching Peace Congress having been fixed, arrangements for the meeting are being pushed as rapidly as practicable. Both the Mayor of Boston and the Governor of Massachusetts have expressed the warmest interest in the Congress, and will do all in their power to make it a success. The Mayor has written to Mr. Mead, Chairman of the Committee on Organization, as follows:

"I am glad to know of the effort which is being made to bring the International Peace Congress of 1904 to Boston. I am sure that we all in Boston feel that this city, which has always been the headquarters of the peace movement in America, is emphatically the place for this gathering. I wish to say, through you, to the committee that if the Congress comes to Boston, it will receive the warmest welcome and hospitality, and I believe that Boston will do its utmost to make it a conspicuous and memorable success. I am,

Yours faithfully,

PATRICK A. COLLINS, Mayor.

Since the decision of the Committee that the Congress shall meet in Boston the first week in October, the Mayor has undertaken to interest the citizens of Boston in the Congress in a practical way, and for this purpose will probably call a meeting of prominent business men at the City Hall about the middle of this month. The International Peace Bureau at Berne has already sent out its first circular informing all the European societies of the time and place of meeting of the Congress.

Urges a Peaceable Temper. The Executive Board of the Peace Society, 47 New Broad Street, London, have issued an appeal to the ministers of religion in Great Britain, in connection with the war between Japan and Russia, in which they point out the dangers likely to arise from the awakening of a partisan spirit, and urging the cultivation of a peaceable temper amongst Christian congregations. This letter, which has been sent to all ministers of churches and congregations in the land, to the number of thirty-six thousand, concludes as

follows: "We therefore respectfully ask you to bring your influence to bear upon your people, so that the sweet reasonableness of Jesus Christ, and His large love for humanity, may prevail amongst them; to make use of any opportunity which may present itself to you of pointing out the power which every individual possesses, and the responsibility attaching to such power, either of exciting or allaying the current feeling; and to urge your hearers, so far as possible, to do and say nothing to hinder the prayer, in which we all most heartily join: 'Give peace in our time, O Lord.' " It is pathetic, to say the least, that ministers of religion should need to be reminded of so elemental a part of their duty as this. It is still more pathetic that a considerable number of them will continue to neglect it after having been reminded of it. The war in South Africa might easily have been avoided if the British preachers had been faithful to their mission. The same might as truthfully be said of other wars, of other countries.

National Peace Congresses. The Rouen Peace Congress last September voted a resolution recommending that national congresses be held in the different countries, to prepare for the work of the international congress and promote the cause within the national limits. A successful national congress had already been held in France. The friends of peace in England have already taken steps for the holding of a similar British national congress this year. A preliminary meeting to consider the subject, called by the Peace Committee of the English Society of Friends, was held at Devonshire House, Bishopsgate St., London, on the 9th of February. There was a representative attendance from the British peace societies. After a free interchange of opinion, it was decided that a British national congress should be held each year, and a committee was created to prepare for such a congress this year, prior to the meeting of the international congress in Boston in October. The committee consists of Dr. Darby and Mr. Crow of the Peace Society, Felix Moscheles and J. F. Green of the International Arbitration and Peace Association, Mary L. Cooke and Ellen Robinson of the Peace Union, T. P. Newman and J. G. Alexander of the Friends Peace Committee, and William Randal Cremer, M. P., of the International Arbitration League. The committee was authorized to add two representatives of organized labor. The meeting voted an appeal to the British government to unite with that of France in endeavoring to bring about a speedy restoration of peace between Russia and Japan. It also voted a declaration that all treaties made in the future between Great Britain and other countries should be submitted to Parliament for discussion and approval before conclusion.

It can easily be seen that it will be much more difficult to arrange for annual national congresses in the United States than in the countries of western Europe because of the great extent of our territory.

South African Slavery. The action of the British House of Commons on the importation of Chinese indentured laborers into the Transvaal seems beyond belief. No better evidence could be found of the degeneracy produced in British character by imperialism, and more particularly by the Transvaal war. Everybody will remember the vociferousness with which British officials and the British public declared the war to be fought in the interests of freedom and equality, of the native races as well as of the foreign residents. The war over, it has become increasingly clear that this whole cry was a huge falsehood, and that mercenariness, and that of a very low order, was at the bottom of the war. Cheap labor must be had for the mines, no matter what great principles of right and justice are sacrificed. The *Friend* (London) thus describes the conditions under which, by a majority of fifty-one, the House of Commons has voted in favor of Chinese contract labor in the Transvaal:

"The conditions under which it is intended to import these Asiatic laborers include prohibition of the right of trading, of holding any license, of leasing or purchasing land, or the possession of any economic rights. The laborer will be subject to transfer by assignment from one master to another. He will be confined in a compound which he may not leave without a signed permit from one authorized by his importer. If found away from the compound without such permit, he will be subject to arrest by any policeman without warrant. The harboring or concealment of a deserter from the compound will render the offender liable to a fine not exceeding £50. Such are some of the conditions under which it is proposed to secure cheap labor for the Johannesburg mines. It is mere trifling to compare them with the conditions of enlistment in the army. On the other hand, it is difficult to detect many essential differences between the status of an indentured laborer in the Transvaal and a slave."

Disarmament in this Century. Hon. Samuel L. Powers, member of Congress from Massachusetts, who is to retire at the end of his present term in the House, made the following striking prediction in a speech a month ago:

"I would to God that the time might come when the nations of Europe, to-day bristling with bayonets, would disband their armies and would also allow their navies to go to the bottom of the sea, and that we might live together in universal peace, and that these hundreds of millions of dollars which to-day are being expended by the great nations of Europe and by the United States

might be turned into the education of the American people and the people of Europe; that these hundreds of millions of dollars might be devoted, or at least some part of it, to the development of the better senses, to the higher tastes of the people of the world. I believe the time will come, and I believe it will come in this century, when we shall see universal peace and when we shall see a disbandment of the armaments of the world. It may not come in our day, but it will come in this century, and then, when that does come, the people of the world can enter upon an era of humanitarianism and development."

That utterance expresses the growing wish of intelligent, right-minded people in all civilized lands. These great armaments are clearly seen to be monstrously out of harmony with the spirit and the attainments of our time. Unfortunately Mr. Powers, like many others, puts off the matter to some uncertain future day, instead of standing up in his place and insisting that the hour has already struck for the beginning of what he so much desires. He voted for the appropriation of one hundred millions for the maintenance and further increase of the navy, and thus helped to develop, not only in this country but in all others, the very evil which he sincerely deplores, and to make impossible the proper development and beautifying of the capital, and the improvement of the country at large internally, which he is heartily in favor of. The greatest service which Mr. Powers and other Congressmen of his intelligence and goodwill could do for their country at the present critical point in her history would be to set in motion at Washington a movement by which they would help to fulfill their own prophecies of disarmament. There is not the shadow of a reason for the United States to add at the present time a single ship to her navy, for the fulfillment of her proper mission in the world.

**Grand Master
of Slaughter.** Many a traveler has reflected over the tomb of Napoleon much as William J. Bryan did on his recent visit to Paris. Mr. Bryan records his thoughts in the following language:

"But overshadowing all Napoleonic monuments is his tomb on the banks of the Seine, adjoining the *Invalides*. Its gilded dome attracts attention from afar, and on nearer approach one is charmed with the strength of its walls and the symmetry of its proportions.

"At the door the guard cautions the thoughtless to enter with uncovered head, but the admonition is seldom necessary, for an air of solemnity pervades the place.

"In the centre of the rotunda, beneath the frescoed vault of the great dome, is a circular crypt. Leaning over the heavy marble balustrade I gazed on the massive sarcophagus below, which contains all that was mortal of that marvelous combination of intellect and will.

"The sarcophagus is made of dark red porphyry, a fitly chosen stone that might have been colored by the mingling of the intoxicating wine of ambition with the blood spilled to satisfy it.

"Looking down upon the sarcophagus and the stands of tattered battle flags that surround it, I reviewed the tragic career of this grand master of the art of slaughter, and weighed, as best I could, the claims made for him by his friends. And then I found myself wondering what the harvest might have been had Napoleon's genius led him along peaceful paths, had the soil of Europe been stirred by the ploughshare rather than by his trenchant blade, and the reaping done by implements less destructive than his shot and shell.

"Just beyond and above the entombed emperor stands a cross, upon which hangs a life-sized figure of the Christ flooded by a mellow lemon-colored light which pours through the stained glass windows of the chapel. I know not whether it was by accident or design that this god of war thus sleeps, as it were, at the very feet of the Prince of Peace. Whether so intended or not, it will, to those who accept the teachings of the Sermon on the Mount, symbolize love's final victory over force and the triumph of that philosophy which finds happiness in helpful service and glory in doing good."

A Pacific Lord-Lieutenant. Mr. Alexander Peckover, L.L.D., of Wisbech, Lord-Lieutenant of the County of Cambridge, England, is a Friend, and holds a very strong creed as to peace and war. It is often said that peace principles are not practicable, but Dr. Peckover makes his practicable. At the last annual meeting of the Wisbech Local Peace Association he made the following most interesting statement:

"He was there because he had a very strong creed as regards peace and war. He believed war was contrary to the mind of Christ. As they went through the Testament, and especially the Gospels, that statement was borne out in every action of their Lord. He was there also as Lord Lieutenant of the county. Ten years ago, when that office was offered to him, the first inquiry he made was how it would affect his opinions about peace. He was told that he would never be required to do anything contrary to his views on that ground. But there were three things he might consider. One was that he might have the rank of a general in the army; but he had no command, so that did not matter. Secondly, there was a gorgeous uniform, with sword and spurs; but the Prince of Wales, the present King, permitted him to appear in Court dress and not in full uniform. It showed the tact of the King. The last time he was at Court a most unusual thing occurred, as the King stepped forward and shook hands with him. Lastly, he had the right to appoint all the officers of the militia and reserve forces; but if he did not do this within thirty days, it lapsed, and so he did not trouble about it. When the great Boer War broke out, his position was not an easy one. Nothing could be demanded of him by law, but he was asked to support everything for war benevolent purposes in the county. This he declined to do, giving his reasons, but he subscribed freely to all hospitals or anything of that kind. He was ready to support them. He had been very firm and careful to keep out of politics, for if he had given way to that, his professions of peace would not have had the force they had."

Friends in Denmark.

The Friends in Denmark, as in all other countries, are on principle opposed to all forms of military service. The *Messenger of Peace*, published by the Peace Association of Friends in America, has this interesting paragraph on the efforts which are now being made to secure liberty of conscience in Denmark for all those who are, as a matter of religious faith, opposed to war:

"As the law in regard to this (military service) is now under revision, the Friends have presented a memorial to the government praying that all who are conscientiously opposed to fighting may be allowed to take their share in a Salvage Corps instead. The Salvage Corps is to be used wherever desired by the government in work for the relief of suffering, or in work for the public good, but is under no condition to form a part of the army. The non-combatants also say that they would be willing to give a longer time to service in this Corps than is required in the regular army; and this regulation would in itself serve as a guarantee that only those who really object to military service on conscientious grounds would avail themselves of the alternative."

Woman Suffragists. The following resolutions, opposing the spirit of militarism, urging arbitration treaties between this and other countries, and asking the support of Congress for the proposition, now before it, to establish a regular international advisory congress of the nations, were adopted at the recent annual meeting in Washington of the National Woman's Suffrage Association :

"That equal suffragists be requested to urge upon their Representatives in both houses of Congress the passage of a resolution in line with that presented by the Massachusetts Legislature, which asks Congress to take the initial steps towards inviting the governments of the world to establish an International Advisory Congress to meet at stated intervals.

"That this Association hereby urges upon all equal suffragists the creation of local public sentiment in favor of the speedy establishment of general arbitration treaties between the United States and all nations with which it has diplomatic relations.

"That, whereas the growing spirit of militarism is a menace to democracy and progress in civilization, this association earnestly recommends to all equal suffragists the careful study of those definite measures which will promote the organization of the world and provide a substitute for war."

The War. Preparations on both sides for the heavy fighting soon to come have gone steadily forward. The Japanese fleet's pounding of Port Arthur has not yet accomplished much except the crippling of the Russian squadron. The Japanese have pushed large forces into Northern Korea, and the Russians have hurried their troops to the Yalu river region. More than a

hundred thousand men on each side are now close together, awaiting the signal for the horrible duel-murder, which will "hurl many valiant souls of heroes to Hades." There seems little willingness on either side to begin till they are "ready." We do not wonder. They will soon be wishing a thousand times over, when they "get at it," that they had had sense enough in advance to keep out of the inhuman and ruinous business. There ought to be a universal cry of Christendom that the ghastly tragedy stop now. Such a cry could not be resisted.

Brevities.

. . . The great picture commemorating the establishment of the Hague Court, painted by Mr. Toche, is to contain portraits of all the one hundred delegates to the Conference. It is to be placed in the Peace Palace for which Mr. Carnegie has given the funds, and small copies of it are to be sent to all the schools and the town halls of France.

. . . The British *Speaker*, commenting on the tone of satisfaction over the Eastern war manifested by certain English papers, says: "It sometimes looks as if the development of imperialism has converted us from a nation of shopkeepers into a nation of *backers* absorbed in the sporting chances of a conflict anywhere and for any object."

. . . We are much gratified to learn that our co-worker, Mr. G. H. Perris, editor of *Concord*, has been chosen secretary of the Cobden Club of England. Mr. Perris is well known in all peace circles as an able and ardent advocate of arbitration and peace, and an opponent of jingoism, imperialism and militarism. He is a journalist who wields a powerful pen in the advocacy of economic and industrial reform and in general of the principles of Liberalism. Mr. Perris is unalterably opposed to the new fiscal policy of Mr. Chamberlain.

. . . Francis William Fox, an earnest member of the Society of Friends in London, recently made a visit to Berlin in order to ascertain whether the German government would be prepared to coöperate with Great Britain in approaching the other European powers to consider a limitation of armaments. He had interviews with several prominent men, including members of the Reichstag, and found a widespread opinion in favor of an arbitration treaty between Germany and Great Britain on the lines of those recently concluded between France and other countries. But he discovered no disposition, except among the Socialists, toward a disarmament movement at the present time.

. . . The French Parliamentary International Arbitration Group has decided to invite the friends of arbitration and peace belonging to the parliaments of Denmark, Sweden and Norway to attend an arbitration conference in Paris. The Danish, Swedish and Norwegian Deputies will be received in France with the same generous hospitality as marked the visit of the members of the British House of Commons last year.